Workers of the World, Unite!

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'Do We Go Home Now?' Ask American Troops in Korea

Signs of Slump Point Up Demand To Slash Hours

By Murry Weiss

Marked signs of a slump in auto production are causing gloomy forebodings in capitalist circles about the general economic prospect for the next period. At the same time a vigorous debate has opened within the labor movement on how to meet the danger of unemployment.

Production and sales of autos are, along with house building, important barometers of the economic trend. Despite record production figures in the first half of 1953, the auto industry is obviously headed for a steep decline. Layoffs, production curtailment and plant shutdowns are becoming an everyday occurrence in the industry.

Emil Mazey, Secretary-Treasurer of the UAW-CIO, recently said: "There are already many signs that point to declining employment in civilian goods industries in months immediately ahead. The auto industry, where truck production is already substantially reduced from recent levels, and where both used and new cars are piling up in dealers' hands, is a case in point."

Official declarations of the auto barons try to minimize this slump and strike a note of cheerful optimism. Elie Able of the N. Y. **Times** writes from Detroit on July 19, that "The factory sales executives, professional optimists . . . contend there is nothing wrong with the auto industry that a little old-fashioned salesmanship will not cure."

However, the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, takes a dimmer view. In its monthly review of business conditions in June it says: "The return of 'normal' markets' and plentiful supplies is sometimes light-heartedly dismissed as merely requiring a revival of hard selling, more advertising, salesmen's contests and the conversion of fledgling 'order takers' to rough and ready merchandisers. Unfortunately, such an approach oversimplifies the problem facing the auto industry. . .

"It was not flabby selling methods that allowed auto output to be halved between 1937 and 1938. . . The real danger to automobile output and employment is not market saturation, but rather the effect of a general business down-turn, which could reduce the market for cars to a fraction of the current level."

Add to this sober appraisal the laconic comment of the American Bankers Association's installment credit commission, which declares that the "annual rate of production" in the auto industry "exceeds the market's potential to absorb at the existing price levels."

The network of auto assembly plants across the country constitutes a decisive sector of the productive consumers of the nation's basic products. They consume 20% of the steel, 70% of the rubber and 70% of the glass. That is why the N. Y. **Times** warns that a "prolonged auto manufacturing slump would mean unemployment not only in Detroit, Pontiac, Flint, Lansing, South Bend, Ind., and other automobile centers, but in the steel mills of Ohio and Pennsylvania, the rubber plants of Akron, and the glass factories of Toledo and Pittsburgh." And **U.S. News and World Report** sees unemployment mounting to 3,850,000 in the first half of 1954.

House building, another major consumer of basic industry products, is showing signs of reversing the steady upward direction since World War II. **Business Week** of July 25, cautiously points to the decline in the number of new dwelling units started, from 110,000 units in April to 107,000 in May to 103,000 in June. To offset any hasty conclusions from these three-months figures they remark.

"Perhaps the slight downward trend in recent months is ominous. But it will take a continuation to prove its significance."

This is true enough, but a very important sign which punctures an "optimistic" evaluation of this new trend is the tightening up on mortgage money and the demand

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"Subversive" Tag Fought by SWP

The Socialist Workers Party has filed a protest against its reinclusion on the U.S.A. Attorney General's "subversive" list. Notice to this effect was sent June 4 to the Department of Justice by Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the SWP.

The Truman administration had put 192 organizations on its political blacklist without any notification, specification of charges, or hearing. This list has become the principal instrument of the government purgers and thought-controllers, even though the U.S. Supreme Court has characterized it as "arbitrary" and without legal authority.

On April 29 Eisenhower's Attorney General Brownell added 62 more names to the list along with a redesignation of the original 192. The groups were given 30 days to challenge the designation. Nineteen of the newly blacklisted organizations have filed notices of contest.

Besides the SWP, the July 22 N. Y. **Times** reports that five other organizations previously designated have filed notices of contest. Among these are the Independent Socialist League, Socialist Youth League, and Workers Party.

Lead Taken by Newark In National Fund Drive

By Reba Aubrey, Campaign Manager

Contributions from Socialist Workers Party branches to the $18,000 Party Building and Publications Fund slumped this week. The weekly total of $816 was not large enough to close last week's lag of 15 percent. **Instead, the gap** widened. The scoreboard through July 27 shows a national total of $5,123 or 28% of the goal set for the three-month campaign. At this point the campaign is 18% behind schedule.

Four branches, setting a fast pace in the campaign, have been on schedule every week — **Newark, Akron, Chicago** and **Buffalo.** This is their line-up: **Newark** pushed ahead with $17 to take the lead with 63%. **Akron** stayed in second place with last week's 60%. **Chicago's** $152 check from **Buffalo** adding $87 to its score clinched fourth place.

Although behind schedule, seven other branches gained ground during the week. Two checks from **Cleveland** totaling $35 raised their percentage from 34 to 44. **St. Paul** sent in $15, giving the **Twin Cities** 33%. **New York's** contributions, totaling $278, boosted them from 18 to 24%.

This note from **Ralph Martin** accompanied **San Francisco's** $25 payment: "It looks like we are going to be late all the way through instead of on schedule as we had hoped. Our fund director is having a hard time getting the pledges. And a harder time getting them paid. We hope for better news in the near future."

Comrade **Jeanne** forwarded $90 which gives **Los Angeles** a total of $555 or 22% of their $2,500 quota. She writes: "There will be more this week, but it will be collected Wednesday night at branch meetings. This means that I will probably send it by money order as I did last week, in order to get in for the Monday deadline a little sooner. We are planning a Bazaar and a Theatre Party as some extra money-makers, just in case."

Oakland and **Seattle** both took a 16% leap out of the zero column.

Our thanks to **A. J. M.** and his **son,** friends of the Socialist Workers Party in **Toledo, Ohio,** who wrote: **"Here's $5. Yours for a better world."**

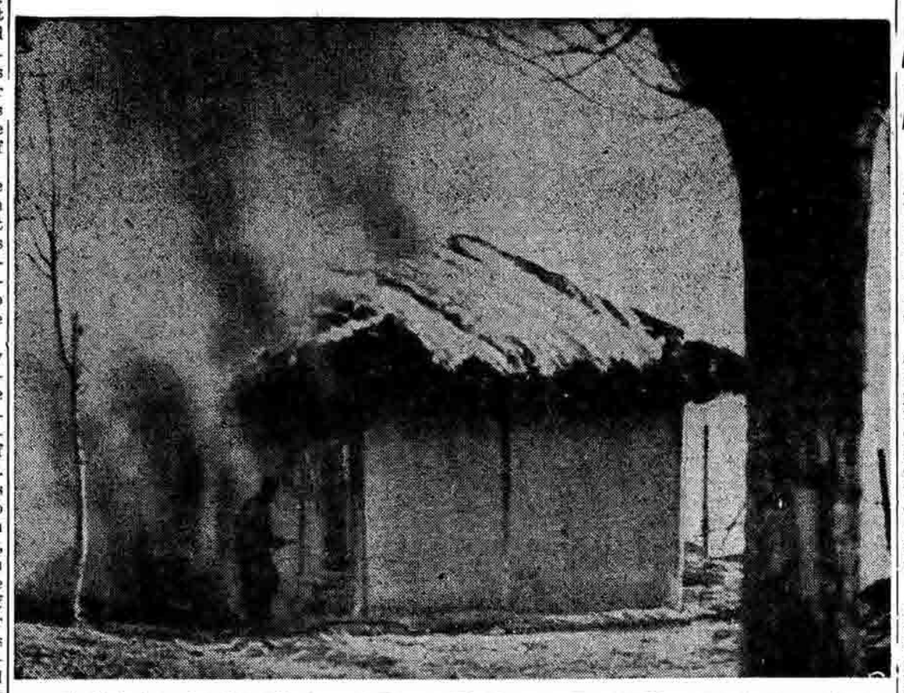
(See Scoreboard: Page 2)

Linden Wild-Cat Auto Strike Ends

The rank and file strike of the Linden New Jersey, General Motors workers ended July 27. The workers, members of Local 595 of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, went back to work after repeated requests of International Unions officials.

The officials promised that they would make further attempts to utilize the grievance machinery of the contract to correct intolerable working conditions and speed-up. The workers expressed determination to fight any attempts of the corporation to victimize strikers, and held in abeyance any further action on their grievances until they see what the officials come up with. held third place, and a telegram

"Liberation" in Korea



Typical example of application of Truman-Eisenhower policy of "liberation" in Korea. Dense smoke swirls about a burning Korean peasant's hut as a U.S. soldier covers doorway with ready gun. This was in South Korea, behind U.S. lines. Military authorities ordered the burning of thousand of similar dwellings because they might serve as "cover for guerrillas." With truce now signed, virtually all of Korea lies in smoldering ruins.

STALINIST PURGE IN EAST GERMANY AIMS TO CRUSH INSURGENT WORKERS

By Murry Weiss

Last week's purge in East Germany's Socialist Unity (Stalinist) Party knocked out five members and alternates of the Political Bureau, the party's leading body. Those purged were: Wilhelm Zaisser, Minister of State Security (Secret Police); Rudolph Herrnstadt, editor of the party's official newspaper, Neues Deutschland; Elli Schmidt, head of the Commission for Trade and Supply; Anton Ackermann, acting Foreign Minister; and Hans Jendretzky, head of the Berlin Stalinist party. Max Fechner, recently deposed Minister of Justice was expelled as an enemy of the Party. The others were merely removed from their posts for the time being.

The purges took place at a meeting of the Central Committee on July 26. Blame for the enormous set-backs dealt the Stalinist regime since the workers general strike of June 17 was placed on the purged officials. This is in line with the new turn in Stalinist policy toward "rooting out defeatism" in the party and the opening of a more ruthless campaign of repressions against the insurgent working class.

The wholesale purge of the top echelons of the Stalinist party must be understood in the context of a continued and deepening crisis of the regime. The purge is part of the same picture as the repressions against the workers, the continued and renewed workers struggles, the concessions of the bureaucracy to the masses and the generalized crisis of world Stalinism.

PREPARE MASS PURGE

The week of all-out purges at the top was marked by preparations for a mass purge of the factories. Walter Ulbricht, Stalinist chief in East Germany, speaking at a meeting of party members in the plants, called upon them "to drag out members of the Fascist underground organization into the daylight, to expose them and hit them hard."

Translated from Stalinist frame-up jargon, this means, "Put the finger on the underground revolutionary worker inactivists and mark them for a frame-up. We'll do the rest."

In the report of the Central Committee "analyzing" the events of June 17, this meaning of Ulbricht's remarks is made clear: "June 17 has shown that there exists in the (East) German Democratic Republic a fascist underground movement organized and supported by the Americans."

The N. Y. Times reports that one passage of the report says, "In several cities there are organized group of Trotskyites and old members of the Socialist workers party who had played a leading role in the disorders."

CONSCIOUS LEADERSHIP

The Militant has contended from the first that the movement of the East German workers had a highly organized, disciplined and conscious character. It possessed an experienced and audacious leadership. Its swift and con-

(Continued on page 2)

'Talk-or-Jail' Bill Placed In Committee

Unless the McCarthyites pull a last minute "squeeze play," the McCarran "Talk-or-Go-to-Jail" bill will not be acted on by Congress before it adjourns. The bill was passed on July 9, through a shameful deal of McCarthyites and liberals, at a night session of the Senate.

The key section of the Bill states: "No witness shall be excused from testifying or from producing books, papers and other records and documents before either House, or before any joint committee of the two Houses of Congress on the ground, or for the reason, that the testimony or evidence, documentary or otherwise required of him may tend to incriminate him or subject him to a penalty or a forfeiture. . ."

This knocks out the Fifth Amendment of the Bill of Rights which provides that "No person shall be compelled... in any Criminal Case to be a witness against himself..." The **Daily Times** of Levittown, Bucks County, Pa. was absolutely correct when it asked in its July 20 editorial, "Is it not clear as a bell that the bill passed by the Senate last week repeals the Fifth Amendment for witnesses before committees?

The **Daily Times** also makes a telling point about the brazen circumvention of constitutional procedure used by McCarran and his cronies in the Senate. The constitution specifically declares that "the Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which in either case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several states or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof. . ."

The McCarran bill used a tricky device to remove an obstacle to the witch hunt contained in the Bill of Rights.

By promising immunity to witnesses, the McCarranites contend that those they haul before their inquisitorial committees can no longer refuse to testify on the grounds of possible self-incrimination. Witnesses will then face the choice of becoming stool-pigeons or going to jail for contempt of court. If they do choose to testify in an "unfriendly" way they can be framed for perjury by a hired

(Continued on page 3)

Fear Rhee Will Start War Again; Awaits Nod from Wall Street

By Joseph Keller

The ending of the fighting in Korea has been greeted with little jubilation by the folks at home and the troops at the front. Some newspaper commentators have attributed the lack of popular celebrations to "indifference." That is false and a slander.

If there is no great mass display of joy and elation, it is because there is little confidence in the truce. The people and the GIs themselves know that there can be no possibility for a lasting peace in the Far East until the U.S. troops are withdrawn from Korea and brought home.

Everyone knows that so long as a giant U.S. armed force remains in Korea, poised as an ever-ready threat to the Chinese border, the American troops can be plunged into war on a moment's notice. So long as U.S. forces are kept in Korea to back South Korean dictator Syngman Rhee whenever he chooses to start open warfare again, there can be no peace.

Uppermost in the minds of the GIs in the Korean zone is the yearning to come home. They have no faith in the truce and no desire to fight for Syngman Rhee. When the shooting was stopped on July 27, the Associated Press reported:

"There was no celebration on the eastern front. Soldiers accepted the armistice calmly and asked: 'Do I go home now?'"

The U.S. military command has attempted to maintain an atmosphere of enmity and hostility by issuing a strict "non-fraternization" order to the troops. But the American boys in uniform and their Chinese and North Korean counterparts do not find it in their hearts to hate each other. Widescale fraternization in defiance of orders is reported.

"WE BOTH GO HOME!"

"But from every sector of the mountainous front came reports of close and amicable contacts — where furious and bitter fighting ranged only days and weeks ago," reports the July 29 Korea dispatch of the Associated Press. "'Hey, G.I.' shouted some North Korean soldiers in the 'Heartbreak Ridge' area, 'no more shoot shoot. We both go home!'"

The account goes on to say: "Allied and Communist troops exchanged pleasantries and presents as they worked at demolishing bunkers and filling trenches in the demilitarized buffer zone."

But the war profiteers and their military and political agents are not preparing for peace. They want to keep the situation in the Far East embroiled. The money boys and the brass hats are insisting that the U.S. troops remain in Korea where they can be dragged into a bigger and bloodier war whenever Wall Street gives the nod.

Gen. Mark W. Clark, U.S. Far East commander, said belligerently on signing the truce that "we remain — in strength" in Korea. Defense Secretary C. E. Wilson, former head of General Motors, largest war contracts beneficiary, insisted that the GIs must be kept in Korea a "long time."

If the corporation agents and professional militarists like Wilson and Clark have their way, we will again be plunged into a blood bath in Korea, and, perhaps, in the whole Far East, in a short while. There is but one way to guarantee against this: **Get the U.S. troops out of Korea right now!**

Tells Them Off

In a nine-hour appearance before the House Un-American Activities committee, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam of the Methodist church accused the Congressmen of aiding "Ku-Kluxism" by their witch hunting attacks on individuals.

Labor Party Needed as AFL-CIO Fighting Arm

(Second of two articles.)

In assessing the prospects for organic unity of the AFL and CIO, we pointed out in last week's Militant that the essential differences dividing the two organizations have narrowed down considerably. The question of the industrial form of organization, which precipitated the original split, no longer constitutes a major obstacle to unification. On political policy there is little to distinguish them.

The greatest barrier to unification now appears to be the problem of overlapping jurisdiction between competing unions in the same or allied fields. This obstacle is not to be minimized as it involves the question of power and privilege, which to trade union bureaucrats is of primary importance.

But there are powerful forces impelling the union leaders, both AFL and CIO, to seriously explore the possibilities for trade union unification and to take steps in that direction. These forces are political and economic developments that portend the gravest consequences for organized labor.

The victory of Eisenhower and the Republican Party last November broke the power of the Democratic-labor coalition that had dominated national politics for 20 years. This signalled the consolidation of Big Business reaction in Washington and the open administration of the capitalist government by direct representatives of the giant corporations.

The leaderships of both the AFL and CIO view the present Administration as hostile. They have no opposition in principle to the administration and would have liked to find some way of living with it. They hoped, when Eisenhower appointed a union official for Secretary of Labor, that this signified some inclination in the White House to take the union officialdom into consideration and make deals with it — without touching any basic capitalist interests, of course. **But they have speedily found out that Eisenhower's little gestures to labor are empty and, in fact, dangerously disarming.**

They must now reckon with the fact that organized labor confronts a Taft-Hartley administration intent on retaining that infamous Slave Labor Law in full effect and utilizing every opportunity for enforcing the law to the injury of the labor movement.

This law is now being used to stifle the growth of unionism, especially in the South where there has been a relatively great expansion of industry in recent years. Both the CIO and AFL have been ham-strung since 1947 by the Taft-Hartley Act in their once widely-heralded "Operation Dixie."

We hear reports of the beginnings of cut-backs and lay-offs and an accompanying tougher attitude by the bosses in the plants. **The fear is growing that the employers are waiting for times to get just a bit worse in order to find the most favorable circumstances to wield the Taft-Hartley weapon with maximum effectiveness against the unions.**

The most sinister aspect of the developing reaction is the intensification of the witch-hunt against all dissident or even midly liberal views and the growth of McCarthyism. The fact that the Congressional inquisitors have dared to attack as "communist" the liberal Protestant clergy representing some 35 million church members has not been lost on the union leaders. They are not so utterly blind that they cannot see that the anti-labor witch-hunters must inevitably direct their poisonous attacks to the labor movement itself. Even the most backward and indifferent of the labor officials can sense "for whom the bell tolls." They are getting scared.

All significant sections of organized labor today recognize the political character of the threat to the unions. The government's role has become paramount in the relations of the unions with the employers. That is why the emphasis everywhere in the labor movement is on political action. We are no longer astonished to hear a conservative AFL union official like President Thomas A. Murray of the New York State Federation of Labor advise its convention on July 27 not to become complacent, warn of the dangers of a "fool's paradise" and urge full mobilization of labor's vote in 1954.

Up to the present, however, the emphasis continues to be upon alliances with the capitalist political machines instead of independent political action. The union officials have placed reliance on coalition politics. Up until Eisenhower's victory, they relied on Truman to carry the fight for them against the Taft-Hartley Act and constantly retreated from their position of intransigent opposition to this union-busting law. **Instead of halting or even slowing up reaction, the coalition policy merely tied labor's hands and prevented an effective struggle against reaction, which became strengthened and consolidated.**

In their effort to give some kind of answer to the grave crisis facing labor, these union officials have seized on the proposition for organic unity. But it is unification without an effective program to meet the basic political challenge. Unification on the basis of embarking on genuine independent labor political action through labor's own party would so inspire and mobilize the working people of America and their allies that the whole relationship of forces would be changed overnight. Reaction would quickly retreat before this massive, militant political force.

But unification on a false program cannot solve the political problem — the decisive and crucial issue — facing labor. To continue the political policies of the past, despite unification, will leave labor politically defenseless against the union-busters in the seats of government power. Politically disarmed, the unions will face the combined forces of the employers and their Big Business government.

This ominous threat can be effectively met by breaking now and forever with the bankrupt police of supporting capitalist political parties and candidates. Organic unity of the AFL and CIO can be the greatest boon to the American workers if it embraces as the first point of its program the launching of labor's own political party.

Letters to a Stalinist

WAS E. GERMAN REVOLT A "FASCIST UPRISING"?

Dear Phil:

Your reply to my last letter was very welcome. I am glad you have no objection to my "invading your privacy" by publishing part of our correspondence in **The Militant.**

Your statement that "the East German workers were conducting a genuine struggle for demands provoked by real grievances" is correct. But your next point, "the leaders of the East German Democratic Republic recognized this and acted accordingly" is highly misleading. As I get it, your argument is that the East German workers were fighting for justifiable demands; the Stalinist regime was granting important concessions in response to these demands; and agents of Wall Street intervened in this "internal affair" to turn this workers' struggle into a movement to reestablish capitalist control of East Germany.

You cite a number of facts and arguments to support your case. The United States government, you say, allocated $100,000,000 to create disturbances in countries of the Soviet bloc. You ask, "Is it so difficult to believe that Washington employed hundreds of spies and proyocateurs with instructions to take advantage of the disturbances in order to overthrow the East German government? And don't we know what kind of a government they would put in its place?"

The cornerstone of the whole Stalinist frame-up against the East German working class is the contention that the general strike of 2,000,000 workers in East Germany was a "fascist uprising." This is the main Stalinist line that you are trying to justify. In doing this you fall into the trap of accepting the technique of Stalinist amalgams. You will remember that during our discussions of the Moscow trials, we threshed out this question. The amalgam is a frame-up device which consists in connecting a number of alleged facts, which are unrelated and have no proven connection, into one slanderous construction.

McCarthy uses the technique of amalgams all the time. If, on the grounds of the Fifth Amendment, you refuse to testify; if you were associated with anyone belonging to an organization listed on the Attorney General's subversive list, then you are a "Communist." And if the Attorney General lists the organization you belong to as "subversive," then you are un-American and disloyal.

A famous example of the technique of amalgams occurred during the Russian Revolution of 1917. The Menshevik enemies of Lenin conducted a tremendous campaign of frame-up slanders against Lenin and the Russian workers during the month of July 1917. They said: "The Kaiser is spending millions to knock Russia out of the war; the Kaiser employs spies and provocateurs to further this aim; Lenin has raised the slogan of an end to Russia's participation in the war; Lenin traveled through Germany to get to Russia on a 'sealed train'; therefore Lenin and the Bolsheviks are German spies."

They dug up some "provocateur" to swear that he had transmitted German gold to Lenin. The Mensheviks also "granted" that the Russian workers and peasants had legitimate demands. They said, "We are giving serious consideration to these demands. But Lenin is utilizing the grievances of the Russian workers in order to carry out the designs of German imperialism and therefore the workers who support the Bolsheviks are engaged in a "German plot, and should be dealt with accordingly."

Isn't this the kind of reasoning the Stalinists are using against the East German workers and their leaders? American capitalism wants to overthrow the regimes in all the countries of the Soviet bloc. They are spending millions to do this. They hire provocateurs, fascists and spies to carry out this mission. Therefore (and here is where they make the amalgam) the revolutionary movement of the East German workers is led by provocateurs and spies and is a "fascist uprising."

Does this really hang together, Phil? The German working class possesses one of the greatest traditions of class consciousness and organization. They have displayed these qualities in a movement of vast scope since June 16. The working-class forces were skillfully deployed and highly disciplined. Can all this be assigned to the work of provocateurs?

Note the demands of these workers, ranging from protests against speed-up to insistence on the withdrawal of Kremlin troops and the resignation of the Stalinist regime. Note the absence of the slightest concession to capitalism in these demands. Doesn't the charge that all this is the work of spies and provocateurs become more ludicrous and monstrous than the attempt to depict the great CIO upsurge in the United States during the thirties as the work of "red agitators"?

What worth then does the Stalinist "recognition" of legitimate grievances of the workers have? In the first place it's only here and there that the Stalinists are constrained to **admit** that June 17 was more than an "adventure of spies and provocateurs." But you and I know that in addition to the official line, the "real dope" is peddled in the form of "explanations" to the initiated — the cadres of the Communist Party. In this sphere the version changes: "Yes there were many workers involved, but the whole thing was manipulated by American spies." Doesn't this reduce the working class to the status of a mass of sheep, who can be manipulated into general strikes and political revolutions by clever Wall Street spies? Is this your understanding and appreciation of the capacities of the class that is overthrowing capitalism throughout the world and building a new society?

— Murry Weiss

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The Political Function of Moscow's Purge System

By M. Stein & J. G. Wright

When Stalin engineered the monstrous purges of the Thirties, the chief task of revolutionary socialists was to expose the Stalinist frame-up system. Today this frame-up system stands exposed. The chief need now is to unmask the spokesmen of imperialism who seek to use the purges in order to stage a frame-up of their own. They strive to palm off the Stalinist purges, past and current, as part and parcel of the struggle of socialism, inherent in it, indivisible from it. They want to use these as well as the other crimes of Stalinism to besmirch socialism, to discredit in workers' eyes the struggle against capitalism.

The truth is that Stalinism is not the product of socialism, but its opposite. Stalinism came to power not through the 1917 Russian Revolution, but through a political counter-revolution.

The Russian Revolution was the most democratic in history, based on the fullest self-action of the oppressed masses. The masses created their own organs of power, in the first instance the party and the Soviets. Committees of poor in the countryside and the trade unions in the cities seethed with vitality, were thoroughly democratic and truly defended the toilers' interests. The Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, which led these, enjoyed the broadest democracy, engaging in the most intense ideological life even in the midst of civil war.

To usurp power, the bureaucracy first had to destroy the party, the trade unions and all other mass organizations up to and including the Soviets. In this way, the workers were expropriated politically; a privileged minority monopolized all power. In place of the democratic workers' organs of power, the bureaucracy erected its police rule, its regime of lawlessness, despotism, ruthlessness, crowned by periodic purges.

LONG PROCESS

This regime did not arise overnight, but took shape over a number of years through a process of crushing the revolution and of physically annihilating the entire revolutionary generations of Lenin and October. This could never have been accomplished without purge upon purge.

Repressions crowned by purges became indispensable for the bureaucracy. Without them it cannot remain in power. Its main method of economic administrations consists of repressions. It has no way of regulating its own internal life except by naked force. It has no way of regulating the contradictions of Soviet society except through the application of force and more force. Hence the constant Kremlin cry of the need to "strengthen the state." Hence the purge system.

Many see in the purges only a personal struggle for power; others regard them as expressions of conflicting interests between different segments of the caste; still others find in them a struggle over policy, domestic or foreign. These elements and others are naturally present, and find their expression to one degree or another. But they are coincidental, subordinate features. The primary fact is that the purge is a component part of the mechanics of bureaucratic dictatorship, its method of administration, its method of resolving contradictions.

STALIN'S "SECRET"

Those who associate purges exclusively with Stalin's personal traits, or view them as "excesses" under Stalin, miss the whole point. Stalin became "Chief" precisely because he was first able to establish himself as Purger-in-Chief — and not the other way around. The needs of the privileged minority found their best expression in Stalin's character. Hence his rise to power. The prestige and authority, manufactured by the apparatus for Stalin, came later.

It was only after Stalin proved he was the unchallenged and unchallengeable purger that he emerged as "Father of the Peoples," "Greatest Genius of Mankind," infallible authority in all fields, from the arts, the social and natural sciences up to philosophy. The same qualifications that made Stalin purger made him infallible, made him arbiter between the classes, between the bureaucracy and the Soviet people and within the bureaucracy itself.

Having destroyed the democratic mass organizations, the Kremlin bureaucracy as a parasitic caste could find only one substitute for these working-class organs of rule, namely: to concentrate all power, including that over life and death, the control of all functions in the hands of a single individual, a personal dictator.

That is the real meaning of Stalinist monolithism. There is one unchallenged "Chief" and all the other big, medium and petty chiefs derive their authority and power as his deputies. In return for its abject subordination, the caste is guaranteed relative stability, assured its income, privileges, power, posts.

SERVES MANY FUNCTIONS

The purge serves many functions. First, to intimidate and crush all political opposition, every stirring of critical thought and discontent. Second, to serve up scapegoats for the ruinous consequences of the Kremlin's own policies and method of management, while, at the same time, spurring its own ranks to greater efforts. Third, to impede the direct intervention of the masses by demonstrating that it is itself capable of correcting abuses, "shortcomings," "abnormalities."

Again, the purge serves to justify the existence of the police state by interminably uncovering "plots," "enemies of the people," "agents of imperialism," by exploiting in this way the danger of imperialist aggression.

Not the least of the functions of the purge is to regulate the bureaucracy's internal life. Freed of all external control by the masses, the bureaucracy must have some way of regulating the selection, promotion, reliability, conduct, etc., of its own ranks. **Lacking the historically stabilized class institutions and means available to a true ruling class rooted in production like the ancient slaveholders, feudal lords or modern capitalists, the bureaucracy is forced to resort primarily to the purge.**

Moreover, this caste needs safeguard against "excesses" — corruption, waste, theft, inefficiency, slothuness, etc., which expose it too nakedly before the masses, which undermine the administration of a modern industry and agriculture, second largest in the world.

THREAT OF THE MASSES

The gulf between the caste and the mass of the people represents a permanent threat. A reliable network of agents within the mass is a life-and-death question for the bureaucracy. Meanwhile, the bureaucrats, collectively and individually, tend to isolate themselves in their bureaus, special dining rooms, resorts, etc. Those closest to the masses become immediate targets of discontent and hatred. Hence the need to unceasingly prod and renew the echelons, remove the most discredited, incompetent, lazy elements and thereby refurbish the "mass ties" required by the regime. This function is likewise served by the purge.

The events in Eastern Germany, the ferment in the buffer countries, bring home sharply to the bureaucracy how vulnerable it is because of the profound gulf between it and the masses, how swiftly its "mass ties" can disintegrate, catching it by surprise.

When Stalin died, the anti-Semitic purge was in progress. After Stalin's death, the whole tenor of official pronouncements by Malenkov-Beria-Molotov was to the effect that the days of lawlessness and arbitrariness had ended. No more purges. The same impression was conveyed by the rehabilitation of the Kremlin physicians, denunciation of extorted confessions and "frame-up perpetrators," emphasis on strict observance of Soviet legality, the promise to liberalize the criminal code "within 60 days" and so on.

All the while, under Beria's auspices, a purge was in progress. The purge of Beria by Malenkov, cutting across Beria's "reform" purge, thus comes as a surprise, perhaps even to some sections of the bureaucracy.

NO PERSONAL TWIST

The two purges, within 120 days of the proclamation of a "new era," shatter all illusions that the purge system was a personal twist on Stalin's part; that the caste can rule by discarding the method of purge; that it will somehow find other ways of assuring stability of its rule, maintenance of inequality, safeguards for its privileges and power, and selection of personnel.

Malenkov's impatience in purging Beria stems not so much from his personal ambitions as it does from the need for haste felt by the bureaucracy as a whole. At home, it is threatened by rising discontent and opposition among the workers and peasants, by the ferment among the oppressed nationalities. Internationally, it is caught between imperialism and the rising tide of the colonial revolution to which has been added, since Stalin died, the insurgence of the German workers.

Beheaded by Stalin's death, the caste suffers from the ambiguity about the selection of Stalin's successor to the post of Purger-Arbiter-in-Chief. The longer the delay, the more immediate becomes the danger of fissures from top to bottom in the apparatus, fissures through which the masses can break through and begin asserting themselves.

"I PURGED BERIA"

On the other hand, Malenkov's ability to purge Beria, the secret-police boss, and order the purge of the secret police itself so soon after Stalin's death endows Malenkov's bid to succeed Stalin with the best credentials produced thus far. It places him in control of the secret police, the main lever for Purger-in-Chief. Malenkov has in effect said: **I purged Beria. Who is there bold enough to challenge me?**

As yet Malenkov continues to operate under the pseudonym of the Praesidium of the Russian Communist Party. "Collective leadership" is the banner under which Malenkov is making his bid for personal dictatorship. In this respect, he simply follows in the footsteps of his master. Stalin's initial purges took place under a similar banner. The build-up, the deification came later.

Let us recall that the cover of "reform," of "liberalization" was originally employed by none other than Stalin as a prelude to his blood baths of the Thirties. The Stalin Constitution was ballyhooed and promulgated as "the most democratic in the world." Stalin was photographed greeting workers, kissing babies, fondling children. Press and radio hailed the advent of "Soviet humanism." Many were taken in by it. Meanwhile the purges were in preparation.

All this represented Bonapartist masquerade — and nothing more. The very need of such masquerade was testimony to the sharpening of relations between the bureaucracy and the toiling masses; and of the Kremlin's preparations to resolve its difficulties at home by force.

TROTSKY'S WARNING

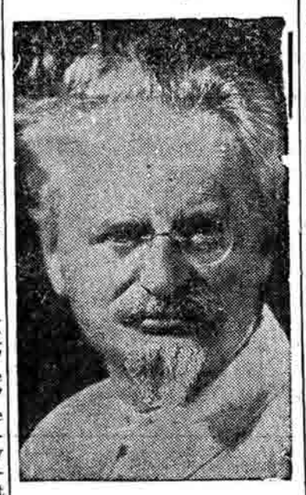
Leon Trotsky was the only one who exposed Stalin's "humanism" and "reforms" at the time. He warned, "It is clear that something frightful is being hatched."

The same kind of exposure and warning are in order today. Malenkov's purge proceeds under the cover of "liberalization" and "reforms." Arbitrariness is denounced; the "principle of collective leadership" is extolled and reaffirmed. Soviet legality is once more declared inviolate. Nationalities are promised full rights in acordance with the "Lenin-Stalin" national policy and the Stalin Constitution. Workers are promised higher living and working standards, and so are the peasants. **What a mockery! All the while the regime holds the workers by the throat!**

Malenkov is also engaging in Bonapartist masquerade — and nothing more. This masquerade emphasizes the cleavage between the caste and the masses: the irreconcilable conflict between the Bonapartist gangsters and the needs of the people and of the economy. Soviet economic advances, the numerical, technical and cultural growth of the workers — the entire Soviet post-war development — demands a corresponding system of workers' democracy, of workers' management. The bureaucracy bars the way for the revival of the class organs of workers' rule. How will this conflict be resolved? **Only through the smashing of the bureaucracy by the masses.**

Leon Trotsky long ago explained: "It is precisely the absence of crystallized class relations and their very impossibility on the social foundation of the October Revolution that invest the workings of the (Stalinist) state machine with such a convulsive character. To perpetuate the systematic theft of the bureaucracy, its apparatus is compelled to systematic acts of banditry. The sum total of all these things constitutes the system of Bonapartist gangsterism. To believe that this state is capable of peacefully 'withering away' is to live in a world of theoretical delirium. The Bonapartist caste must be smashed, the Soviet state must be regenerated. Only then will the prospects of withering away of the state open up."

Martyr



Leon Trotsky, co-founder with Lenin of the Soviet Union, fought the rise of the Stalinist caste. Absence of aid from abroad led to defeat of Trotsky's struggle and finally his assassination by an agent of the Kremlin in 1940. Trotsky's analysis of Moscow's purge system is the only one that has stood up under the test of events.

$18,000 Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Newark	$ 500	$ 317	63
Akron	150	90	60
Chicago	1,500	803	54
Buffalo	1,500	723	48
Cleveland	350	155	44
Philadelphia	400	152	38
Boston	550	193	35
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,200	395	33
Flint	250	65	24
New York	4,500	1,078	24
San Francisco	1,000	225	23
Youngstown	450	105	23
Los Angeles	2,500	555	22
Pittsburgh	30	5	17
Oakland	250	40	16
Seattle	450	72	16
St. Louis	75	5	7
Milwaukee	400	25	6
Detroit	1,500	33	2
Allentown	60	0	0
General	385	87	23
Total through July 27	**$18,000**	**$5,123**	**28**

STALINIST PURGE IN EAST GERMANY AIMS TO CRUSH INSURGENT WORKERS

(Continued from page 1)

certed tactics displayed marvelous understanding of the whole political situation and how to exploit it in the interests of the working class.

The fact that among the cadre of factory leaders there are Trotskyists, who can contribute the whole body of Marxist consciousness and experience to the movement strengthens the possibility of welding together a revolutionary workers party to organize the struggle against Stalinism.

REVEALING ADMISSION

In the same Central Committee report the Stalinists make a revealing admission. They grant that about 5% of the workers engaged in the June 17 general strike. This would be approximately 230,000 workers. For the Stalinists this is an important switch from their previous insistence that a negligible section of the workers participated in the June 17 uprising, and that it was primarily an affair of "provocateurs and spies." The actual figure, confirmed by many sources, is 2,000,000 workers.

The Stalinist repressions are coupled with promises and concessions that include the following features: Wage increases and the cancelling of wage cuts, revising the five-year plant to put greater emphasis on the production of consumers goods, the relaxation of speed-up, and the relief of hunger.

A number of things are already clear about these concessions. While the repressions have the aim of decapitating the vanguard of the movement, the concessions aim to appease the masses. The moment the Stalinists feel they have the situation under control, they will attempt to drive the purge deeper into the factories, they will step up the witch hunt and stifle every voice of protest.

These are the Stalinist objectives. But the real course of events is upsetting their plans. The workers greet the concessions and promises with new demands for the freedom of the trade unions and for "less talk and more action." Continued reports of workers struggles show the tendency for the concessions to become starting points of new struggles in altered form, rather than "pacifiers" of the workers movement. At the same time the workers continue to repeat their demand for the release of those arrested after June 17.

The main conclusion to be drawn from the recent developments is that the workers movement remains fundamentally intact and undefeated, while the Stalinist regime continues to experience a series of convulsions and set-backs.

The social character of the East German workers movement as an anti-capitalist movement is best illustrated by the inability of Wall Street to gain any ground as a result of the June 17 uprising.

EISENHOWER'S LETTER

President Eisenhower's letter to West German Chancelor Adenauer, made public on July 25, was a crass attempt to place American capitalism in the position of championing the "workers" against the Stalinists. This demagogy was punctured however, by the main point of the letter which said, "I do not accept, and never accepted this theory that the European Defense Community and unification of Germany are mutually exclusive."

The plain meaning of this is that Eisenhower and Wall Street's puppet Adenauer are persisting in their attempt to drag Western Germany into the Anti-Soviet military machine. The immediate reaction to Eisenhower's letter in West Germany was great indignation and protest from the workers who want no part of Wall Street's projected war.

The Social Democrats, feeling this mass sentiment, denounced Eisenhower's letter. Washington's difficulty in dragooning the West Germans into the military set-up of the 'free world" was heightened by last month's events in East Germany. The rise of the independent workers movement strengthened the sentiment throughout Germany for a unified socialist nation free of domination from Wall Street and the strangling grip of Stalinist tyranny.

JOBLESS WANT FOOD TOO

Wall Street has made a grandstand play to utilize the hunger in East Berlin in the age old game of imperialist "food politics." Large numbers of the 250,000 unemployed in West Berlin showed up at the distribution centers to claim their share of the food. This casts a revealing light on the ballyhoo about the prosperity and well being of the German workers under the Allied occupation. Wall Street allows millions to perish in famines because there is no profit in permitting rotting surpluses to be sent to starving peoples. But given an opportunity to make counter-revolutionary capital out of hunger, the Big Business sharks immediately untie their purse strings—for "humanitarian" purposes only of course.

The responsibility for the starvation conditions in East Germany must be placed squarely where it belongs — on the Stalinist burcaucracy. On June 8 **The Militant** reported that the Stalinists were stripping East Germany of its food supplies. This policy of looting, stripping, dismantling of machinery, pillage and terror, wage slashes and speed-up, the creation of mass hunger, has, in general, been the policy of the Stalinists since the end of World War II.

SIGNS OF SLUMP POINT UP DEMAND TO CUT WORK WEEK

(Continued from page 1)

for more extended credit terms by buyers. **Business Week** categorically states two facts about both auto and housing: **"Sales are harder to close than at any time since World War II. Credit and credit terms, can make all the difference in a sale."**

A survey of other important production and market trends shows that a significant slump is taking place. According to **Wall Street Journal** reports during the last month, the following economic sectors show decline: **Tobacco export** has dropped to the lowest point in the last 35 years due to Great Britain's financial crisis and the appearance of Rhodesia as a competitor on the world market. The June 23 **Wall Street Journal** reported "Huge production drops" for **truck production**, and asked the question, "Harbinger for autos?" On June 24, it reported a severe crisis in Chile's **copper production** as part of the picture of "global deflation." Chile is the world's largest copper producer next to the U.S. and most of its output goes to the U.S. An official of Chile's Bank, which markets all its copper, stated, "Our copper is backing up."

Many other fields show the same tendency. Bankers announced interest rates are up, a crisis in the world diamond market is underway (luxury goods), huge surpluses in wheat and other crops are hitting farm prices, sales of appliances are slowing down. General Mills Corporation has closed three plants due to a big drop in consumption, the lowered demand for soft coal has brought many layoffs to the mine workers, and there are 244,000 less jobs on farms this year.

Undoubtedly the prospect for a truce in Korea is playing a big role in this trend. **U.S. News and World Report** of July 24, states, **"The point is that, barring some new flare-up of war, there's nothing in sight to give the boom another lift."**

American capitalist economy has long been operating on a precarious equilibrium in which the sector of war production plays the major role in maintaining a balance. Under the Truman administration, dislocations resulting from a temporary letdown in war production were counteracted by huge government expenditures and "pump-priming" techniques. Under the Eisenhower administration this policy may be modified to allow a certain "controlled shakeout."

An important consideration favoring this in the eyes of Big Business, is their hope that an increase in unemployment may take the "starch" out of the unions.

Noteworthy in this picture is the alacrity with which the workers respond to what statistically looks like a minor economic fluctuation. Already in the auto industry the demand for a 30-hour week at 40-hours pay is gaining ground. The powerful Ford Local 600 of the UAW-CIO in Detroit, supported by other important locals, is pressing this correct demand in opposition to the Reutherite leadership, who regard it as "impractical."

A number of reports from the mine fields indicate the same sentiment among the miners. The N. Y. **Herald Tribune** reports "Thousands of miners are unemployed and many more are working only two or three days a week." And the **Wall Street Journal** says **"miners are pressing for a shorter work day with no cut in pay."**

The important lesson to draw from this is that in the economic ups and downs that mark the fever chart of a chronically sick capitalist method of production, oscillations short of a major depression can provoke abrupt changes in the conditions of the working class. This can ignite struggles which would open a new chapter in the history of the American labor movement.

In such struggles the powerfully organized American workers will bring their strength to bear in the formation of an independent political party. One of the principles of such a party should be that the anarchy of capitalist production cannot be allowed to result in the pauperization of the working class. **If the capitalists can't operate the plants under a profit system, then let's nationalize them and produce the things people need in abundance.**

Logic of Marxism

By Wm. F. Warde

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3. Once Again on the Limitations of Formal Logic
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Vol. XVII - No. 31 Monday, August 3, 1953

The Meaning of the Korean Truce

From its start the Korean war has been the most unpopular war in American history. The apathy, bitterness and even hostility felt by great numbers of Americans toward this conflict is intensified by the signing of the truce. They can now more clearly see that they gained nothing from their heavy sacrifices. The 140,000 casualties, the tens of billions of dollars blown up in Korea have benefitted nobody but the war profiteers and professional militarists.

Truman's administration dragged us into the Korean struggle without the vote of Congress, let alone the approval of the people. The American imperialists concealed and misrepresented the real character of the war. They spread the impression that it was a mere "police action" to halt "Communist aggression."

In reality, as America has since learned to its dismay and sorrow, the country was committed to an unpardonable major war for three years against the titanic revolutionary upsurge of a half billion inhabitants of the Far East. The struggle in Korea began as a civil war between the rich and the poor with the capitalists and the landlords arrayed against the peasants and the workers. Washington rushed to rescue dictator Syngman Rhee against whom the Korean masses were rising.

When MacArthur threatened the very border of China on the Yalu river, the Chinese, who had just cast off the chains of imperialism, were forced to enter the fray.

U.S. intervention in Korea gave Wall Street its longed-for chance to expand its military machine at a headlong pace, to step up its global war preparations, and to hitch the faltering capitalist economy behind the chariot of militarism.

The chief victims of this intervention were the very inhabitants of Korea the imperialist propagandists were promising to "liberate." Their homes were levelled by U.S. bombs and napalm; ten million were driven onto the roadsides to starve and freeze; millions succumbed while other millions suffered wounds and disease. This has been one of the great atrocities of our time.

The Pentagon strategists undoubtedly expected to conquer all Korea for its puppet Rhee, crush the insurgent Korean workers and peasants, and use the momentum of its offensive to assault the revolution in China. But the revolutionary forces proved far more formidable than the arrogant Pentagon brass calculated. The military setbacks which led to a stalemate on the fighting fronts compelled Washington to lose hope of scoring a definite victory without incurring tremendous risks and losses that the American people would resent and resist. Week by week, opposition to continuing the war mounted on all sides. The demand grew louder to "bring the boys home."

Washington's allies in the United Nations were pressing ever harder for negotiations.

Obliged by all these factors to reassess its Korean involvement in the light of its world strategic aims, Washington had to decide whether to expand the war in the Far East or contrive a cessation of hostilities for tactical and diplomatic reasons. By signing the truce, Eisenhower's administration can turn it attention more fully to Europe which it regards as the main staging ground for its projected anti-Soviet war.

In addition, it seeks to remove the stigma of imperialist belligerence it has acquired throughout the world. It can thus represent itself as a peace-making and peace-loving power while using the pause in military hostilities to facilitate the next moves in its global war plans.

Both sides recognize that the Korean truce rests on fragile foundations. Syngman Rhee and his American prompters can blow up the truce at any time. Moreover, new advances and upsurges of the colonial people elsewhere can provide imperialism with pretexts for new Koreas.

We cannot trust this government of Big Business and Big Brass to keep the peace. The war-making powers must be taken from their hands and vested in the people, who alone should decide the life-and-death questions of war or peace. To prevent a new flareup on the Korean front or more "police action" abroad, we should have a democratic referendum vote of the people on any war-making act or proposal.

We must learn from the disastrous and disgraceful invasion of Korea that the Asian peoples are determined not to be dominated any longer by foreign imperialism. These revolutionary millions cannot be suppressed by would-be world conquerors from America any more than the embattled American patriots of 1776 could be crushed by British tyranny.

The Chinese and the other Asian peoples must be permitted to build up their countries as they think best. Such a policy would be welcomed by Asia and be in accord with the wishes and interests of our own people who want to live in peace with other nations.

We can reduce the war danger and win the friendship of the Asian peoples by effective mass pressure on Washington to heed the following demands:

Withdraw all American troops from Korea and the Far East. Let the Asian peoples run their own affairs without foreign interference.

Recognize the New China. Lift the blockade against it. No support for reactionary dictators like Rhee and Chiang-Kai-shek.

Hands off the colonial struggles for freedom. No more "police actions" to stem the irresistible advance of the Asian masses toward "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

30-40 Is Practical

Rank and file auto workers and miners are indicating their concern about the threat of unemployment and the need to combat it by shortening the work week without reducing pay. The Reutherite bureaucracy of the UAW-CIO is opposed to this slogan. The miners union leadership hasn't been heard from on this point.

One of the Reutherite officials, Ken Morris, president of UAW Local 212, gives three arguments of the Reutherite leadership against this slogan in the July issue of the *Voice of Local 212*:

(1) Quoting UAW Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey, he says, "It doesn't make good sense to gear ourselves for a fight for a guaranteed annual wage and at the same time take on the fight for the 30-hour week with 40 hours pay."

(2) "The second reason for voting down the 30-hour week proposition," continues Ken Morris, "was based on contract considerations. Our contracts run until 1955." Conclusion? "The union will make its fight for the shorter work week with higher pay when the time is opportune."

(3) "The company would have to pay 50% more for 40 hours labor time." And he asks, "Does this demand make sense at this time? Or do you think it is 'a wee bit' impractical at this time?"

Let's take the last argument first. What is a "wee bit practical"? To let the corporations run the plants at breakneck speed until the bottom drops out of the market and then throw the workers out on the street? The figure Ken Morris gives of a 50% increase in wage costs is false because it incorrectly assumes that the working force will continue to work a 40-hour week with the last 10 hours at overtime rates. Actually, 30-40 means that all the workers stay on the job, the hours are reduced and the total payroll is the same for the employers as before.

Argument number two about the contract speak against the five-year contract, not the 30-40 demand. Are the workers to wait until 1955 before they fight unemployment? Isn't this "a wee bit" impractical, President Morris? Do you blame the workers for wanting to fight this out while they are on the assembly lines rather than on the bread lines?

Ken Morris' argument number one is the weakest of all. You can't fight for both the guaranteed annual wage and 30-40 at the same time! Why not? The guaranteed annual wage is a demand based on the right of *every* worker to a full year's pay even if the employer shuts down the plant.

Isn't 30-40 a big step toward the guaranteed annual wage? Under a guaranteed annual wage, workers continue to draw full pay even though they are all laid off. Under 30-40, the workers continue to draw full pay even though they work part time. Clearly, winning a 30-40 guaranteed wage would be an important victory on the road to an annual guaranteed wage.

The way the Reutherites argue against 30-40 makes us suspicious. They don't say that the demand is too modest. On the contrary, they seem to regard it as a wild and impractical scheme. Therefore the seriousness of the Reutherites about fighting for the guaranteed annual wage demand is open to question.

We advise the workers to stick to their guns on the 30-40 demand. It's practical. And it can be won.

THE ROAD TO PEACE

This pamphlet by James P. Cannon is must reading for anyone opposed to another war. It explains why peace cannot be won by following the Stalinist program and outlines Lenin's real views on this life and death question, with particular application to America.

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Brass Hats Show Way To Promotion and Pay

By Tom Milton

PENTAGON POLITICS. By William H. Neblett. Pageant Press, New York, 1953. 131 pages, $3.

PENTAGON POLITICS, written by a man who is a lawyer, a colonel in the reserves and the former president of the Reserve Officers Association, is a blast at the brass-hat military caste and a plea for a so-called citizens' army in which reserve officers would have a greater weight as against the regular army officers.

The plea, repetitious and confused, can be disregarded. An army led by the businessmen-professional reserve officers would not be genuinely democratic and would have basically the same class structure as the present one. American imperialism, the bastion of world counter-revolution, requires, however, a huge standing army ready to be sent into action to relieve reaction wherever needed. For this reason Neblett, despite all his lobbying, cannot convince the politicians to construct the kind of army he advocates.

BIG BUSINESS TIE-UP

His book, however, gives some idea of the corrupt careerism and ruthless ambition of the generals and admirals. Most valuable are the pages dealing with the tie-up between them and the Big Business organizations engaged in armaments production.

It has become a standard practice for the brass hats to retire from the military forces in their fifties at a handsome retirement pay (frequently tax free on the ground of a fictitious disability) and to become high-salaried members of corporation boards. Thus a corporation is able "to send its president, General A, to the Pentagon to see General B, who succeeded him, and talk General B into continuing the manufacturer's contract to make obsolete equipment — a very easy accomplishment in most cases, because General A had made or approved the original contract of the manufacturer he is now representing."

IMPRESSIVE LIST

Neblett gives a list of the more prominent Big-Business generals and admirals that does not include Douglas MacArthur, the $100,000 president of the leading small arms manufacturer, Remington Rand, who made good after the book went to press, and Omar Bradley, who become chairman of Bulova Research, a big contractor for the Defense Department, just the other day. Some of them are as follows:

Lucius D. Clay, four-star general, former military governor of Germany and intimate friend of Eisenhower, retired at 52 with a retirement pay of $16,000 annually to become chairman of Continental Can Company and director of General Motors, two companies at the top in selling to the army, with a salary of over $100,000 a year.

Somervell, a four-star general formerly commander of the Army Service Forces and a West Point classmate of Eisenhower, retired on a disability at 54 to become president of Koppers Company, a Mellon firm, and the director of four other big munition makers. He gets $16,000, tax free, from the army and $125,000 from Koppers.

Leslie R. Groves, a three-star general who commanded the Atomic Bomb Project during the war, retired at 52 to join Remington Rand at an undisclosed salary.

William F. Halsey, a five-star admiral retiring on a disability tax-free pay of $19,500, became president of International Standard Electric Corporation at an unknown salary and the director of four other big corporations dealing with the Navy.

Four-star admiral John Henry Towers is a $20,000 vice-president of Pan American Airways, an airline heavily subsidized by the government on the ground that it serves "national defense," which has five-star general George C. Marshall as a director.

Ira C. Eaker, former Deputy Chief of Air Staff, retired at 50 to become vice-president of Hughes Tool Company, which is engaged in a wide field of armaments work.

Four-star general McNarney, former Supreme Commander of American Forces in Europe, is president of Consolidated Vultee, principal manufacturer of the B-36, at a salary rumored to be $100,000 while drawing $16,000 retirement pay.

And so the roll-call goes with the former Chief of Ordinance, the former Chief Signal Officer, the former Commanding General of the Air Transport Command, the former Chief of the Material Division of the Navy, the former commander of the Air Material Command.

Evidently Big Business likes not only Ike but the rest of the boys. With the United States becoming more and more militarized and their own power growing, the brass hats never had it so good.

Casualties in Korea

Incomplete figures of U.S. casualties in Korea up to the truce have now mounted to 140,546. The last week of fighting resulted in 1,274 casualties, the largest weekly increase since November 12, 1952. So far there are 25,117 dead, 102,289 wounded, 8,654 missing. Last week's casualties include 152 dead and 921 wounded.

"IF YOU'RE BROKE WITH $25,000 A YEAR"

By Joyce Cowley

"If You're Broke with $25,000 a Year." This — according to Prentice Hall, who published it — is the title of an "exciting new report on the methods corporation executives use to increase their personal incomes." "Many executives," they say, "do an excellent job for their companies but they fail to look out for themselves."

I had never noticed that this was a failing of big executives, but perhaps I have a one-sided approach. I'm preoccupied with the problems of workers and don't realize that men in the $25,000-to-$50,000-a-year bracket are having a tough time, too. "Executives in these brackets," the report continues "have been badly hurt by taxes and inflation. Some have been forced to reduce their standard of living."

Reducing their standard of living must be a last resort. I was beginning to worry about what items they would have to cut, but Prentice Hall quickly reassured me.

"Something can be done about it! We have prepared a report of the methods these men are using to boost their personal incomes."

The report is divided into four sections. The first section covers "14 personal expenses that may properly be paid in whole or in part by the company. They cover everything from medical expense to insurance premiums: Vacation costs — club membership — auto expenses — meals — hotel accommodations — expenses incurred in connection with your own home — with your country place."

AND A SALARY, TOO?

All this — and a salary, too? I'd be willing to forego my present wages in return for an expense account of this type.

But these executives may be a little greedy, because collecting for expenses is just a start. The second section of the report takes up "methods top executives are using to increase their remuneration from the company . . . two new developments that encourage an immediate increase in salary . . . the Multiple Unit Plan which makes it simpler to increase your salary . . . a profit-sharing arrangement that in actual practice gives the executive many more dollars than his planned proportionate share."

In case someone objects, possibly on the ground that he isn't getting his planned proportionate share, there are other ways. "Substantial bonuses are being paid to executives in addition to their salaries — the executive can be paid commissions over and above his regular pay — the proper granting of stock options to top men can pay off in high figures!"

SPIRIT OF COOPERATION

I can't help feeling that the company cooperates more fully with these executives than it does with the general run of employees. **Don't they realize that even without benefit of a Multiple Unit Plan, it would be quite simple to increase my salary?**

Section three discusses the question of retirement incomes. "New retirement income arrangements guarantee the executive $5,000, $10,000, $15,000 a year or more. Don't confuse these with ordinary pension plans."

No need to worry. Ordinary pension plans pay about $100 a month. I'm not good at figures but I'm not likely to confuse this with $15,000 a year or more.

Section four tells how executives are "using a group of special methods to protect their incomes against tax depletion. These methods have nothing to do with ordinary tax savings and deductions."

WOULD LAND IN JAIL

If I attempted methods of reducing my taxes that had nothing to do with ordinary tax savings or deductions, I would probably land in jail. But Prentice Hall assures me that their Federal Tax Course (which I can order for a mere $17.50) is "used by agents of the Revenue Bureau in their tax work in the field." If I agree to buy this course, I get absolutely free a copy of the report **"If You're Broke with $25,000 a Year,"** as 1,000 copies of this report are now being released to top executives throughout America.

A thousand copies — that's really not many in a country of over 60,000,000 wage workers. I guess the problem of how to get along in an upper-income bracket interests a very small percentage of the population. Most people are worried, like me, about how to pay the milk bill, get the kids' teeth fixed and buy a winter coat. And Prentice Hall makes one good point — **something can be done about it!**

But something a bit different from what Prentice Hall proposes. Instead of Big Business flunkeys, we can send representatives of working people to Congress. Then we can hope for some real tax relief for the poor. We can also expect some help in the form of low-cost housing and public-health programs.

Right now the men making $50,000 a year or more have got things sewed up in Washington. But, as I said before, there are so many of us and so few of them. How about a party that will kick them out and work in the interests of the great mass of American people?

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Four-Way Split Hits UE Local In Philadelphia

PHILADELPHIA, July 25 — Local 107 of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America — Independent, was suddenly rent this week by a four-way split that carried from the top leadership of the local right down through the ranks of this key Westinghouse plant in South Philadelphia. The central question under dispute is to what organization the local should affiliate.

When the UE was expelled from the CIO in 1949, a sharp conflict over affiliation rocked the local, with the pro-UE forces emerging victorious. However, over the past year, dissatisfaction with the UE has grown, and a committee was elected about three months ago to reexamine the question of affiliation.

A meeting July 22 was called to ratify the recent national contract negotiated with Westinghouse, as well as to hear the report of the committee. A leaflet signed by John Monaghan, President of the Local, and Francis Bradley, Business Agent, circulated the plant that day calling for affiliation of the local to the IUE-CIO.

UE forces immediately lined up for the evening meeting. With National officers present, the vote of ratification of the contract was jammed through in less than 15 minutes. But when the report of the committee was presented, the fireworks started.

Members of the committee split three ways — some for remaining in the UE, some for the IUE and the rest for going independent. President Monaghan created a sensation by switching back to the UE at the meeting itself. The IAM-AFL also entered the picture, claiming support in the plant. Each side has barraged the members with leaflets and the campaigning for a new NLRB election has begun.

While it is too early to assess the relative strength of the factions, one fact emerges. The workers in the plant, which has a long and militant history, will have the opportunity to choose their affiliation on the basis of their needs and their future.

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"Security Risk"

Representative Robert L. Condon, a Democrat from California, tells Washington reporters that he is "outraged" at being barred from an atomic weapons test in Nevada this spring as a "security risk." The Congressman demanded an "investigation." Condon formerly worked for a law firm that represented unions on the West Coast.

World Events

By Charles Hanley

U.S. SUPPORT of the expropriated British oil companies in Iran continues to stir the indignation of the Iranian people. At an anti-imperialist mass demonstration in Teheran July 21 more than 100,000 persons filled the streets. Prominent among the slogans were those directed against the U.S. The rally was called by the leftist Tudeh party. The Tudeh leaders also expressed support of Dr. Mossadegh in his attempt to further curtail the powers of the Shah and his parliamentary followers. Only 5,000 persons attended a "Nationalist" rally held on the same day.

* * *

WHEN STALIN DIED, the Soviet masses were not as grief-stricken as the official and censored reports indicated at the time. Hundreds of thousands passed before the corpse of the dictator on display in the House of the Trade Unions, but there was only "a tear or two," and plain curiosity prevailed, according to Eddy Gilmore, Associated Press correspondent who recently left Moscow.

* * *

THE VATICAN on July 20 approved a statement by Cardinal Ottaviani supporting the restriction of Protestant minorities in Roman Catholic countries which has been advocated by the Catholic bishops of fascist Spain. Cardinal Ottaviani declared March 2 that a majority of the Protestant converts in Roman Catholic countries are "communists."

* * *

THE KREMLIN resumed diplomatic relations with Israel July 15. Moscow broke off normal ties with the Israel government Feb. 12 after a terrorist bomb had been exploded at the Soviet legation in Tel-Aviv following initiation of Stalin's anti-Semitic campaign.

* * *

FOUR HUNGARIAN Ministers were purged by the Stalinist regime recently and four others were shifted to new posts. The Hungarian government has promised to do away with concentration camps and announced an amnesty July 26 for many prisoners. The amnesty, however, does not apply to those convicted of political offenses.

* * *

KING NORODOM of Cambodia, one of the three states of the French-dominated part of Indo-China, again demanded real independence from French colonial rule July 23. The King has repeatedly threatened to withdraw from the "French Union" and its war against the freedom-seeking Viet-Minh if his request is not granted.

* * *

DICTATOR CHIANG KAI-SHEK and his forces, driven off the mainland by the Chinese people and marooned on the island of Formosa under the protection of the American fleet, are homesick according to James Reston of the N. Y. Times. In the July 21 issue, Reston sympathetically describes how "dispirited" the former Nationalist regime is. The prospect of a truce in Korea was particularly depressing to Chiang. At the same time, the former ruler, long notorious as the butcher of the Chinese people, continues to issue inflammatory declarations about now being the time to launch an attack on the Chinese mainland.

HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE GETS "TALK-OR-JAIL" BILL

(Continued from page 1)

informer. And all this is accomplished by the McCarran bill without the trouble of amending the Constitution.

The bill is now in the House Judiciary committee where it appears to be bottled up for this session. McCarran has been fighting to pass this measure since 1951 and will undoubtedly organize to push it through the next session of Congress. The labor movement and all opponents of the witch hunt must be alerted to the danger so that "sneak" passage will not be possible. Above all, the lesson of the liberals co-operating with the witch-hunters on this measure must be absorbed. In the fight against the witch hunt we cannot lean on weak reeds who buckle under pressure.

The performance of the liberals on the night of July 9 in working with McCarran is a warning signal to the labor movement. We must expect more and more anti-labor legislation in Congress. The Eisenhower administration will begin to bare its real program in the period ahead. The corporations are clamoring for restrictions and dog collars for the unions. The State Legislatures are flooded with anti-labor measures. To rely on the capitalist party politicians to go to bat for labor is suicidal lightmindedness. The lesson of the conduct of the liberals in the Senate on McCarran's "Talk-or-Go-to-Jail" bill is to build a Labor Party. As the 1954 elections approach, this task becomes urgent and unpostponable.

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THE MILITANT

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The Negro Struggle

Win Them to What?

By Jean Blake

If the daily papers quoted Dr. Edith Sampson's remarks in Chicago July 23 correctly, the former U.S. alternate delegate to the United Nations did the colored people of this country and of the world an extreme disservice.

According to press reports she pictured the 16,000,000 Negroes in America as in a strategic position for winning "the Africans, Egyptians, Koreans, Chinese Arabs, all dark-skinned," to "our way of life."

The learned lady neglected to say exactly what it is about "our way of life" that the dark-skinned peoples should emulate. As far as the overwhelming majority of colored people are concerned, there are two features that distinguish the "American way of life" — the double standard of citizenship known as Jim Crow, and the relatively high standard of living.

The first feature, discrimination and super-exploitation, is an evil that South Africans, Kenyans and others know only too well from their own experience. They don't want any part of the American democracy "for whites only." They don't need any advice from American Negro apologists for the "master race" on how to fight for freedom, either.

As a matter of fact, the American colored masses have been proud of the inspiring courage and independence of the colonial peoples in the revolutionary struggles now in progress all over the world.

When Edith Sampson said, "They (the colonial masses) look to the American Negro to set the pace for them," she had her facts exactly upside down. It is the Africans who are in the vanguard of the struggle against white supremacy today.

As for the other feature which characterizes American life, the higher standard of living — that is neither a "divine right" of Americans nor a nationality trait. It is the result, rather of the fact that this country's productive system was organized on the most progressive basis possible for its time and freed by a revolutionary war from foreign domination and exploitation.

That feature of the American way of life the colonial peoples are trying their best to duplicate. They are fighting against tremendous odds to rid themselves of all their imperialist exploiters.

Instead of sanctimonious criticism and advice from Negro stooges for American imperialism, the colonial peoples deserve sympathy, aid and any moral and material support we can give them. But the best thing we can do to aid their cause is to conduct a militant, uncompromising, principled struggle for complete democracy in America.

"$31 per Room"

By Joyce Cowley

On the upper West Side of Manhattan, police are investigating the smashing of stained glass windows in a Baptist church and in a synagogue. It's assumed that teen-age "vandals" are responsible for the damage. The Cathedral Heights Citizens Committee skips the usual chatter about maladjustment and gives a forthright explanation of the rise of teen-age gangs. Much of the trouble, they say, comes from the "wholesale, illegal conversion of brownstone houses into rooming houses. Overcrowding results in families sleeping in 'split shifts' and forces youngsters to stay on the street at all hours of the night."

This is evidence, once again, of the rapid growth of New York slums caused by the acute housing shortage — a shortage which some authorities estimate at 900,000 apartments!

Several weeks ago an editorial in the N. Y. *Herald Tribune* summarized a report by the Committee on Slum Clearance. It described a "blighted" area marked for redevelopment — 30th to 33rd Sts. between First and Second Avenues. Federal and City funds share the cost of "acquisition" and private capital does the redevelopment. The result will be 800 modern apartments.

All this sounds just fine. I was beginning to feel quite happy about slum clearance in New York City until I read a little further:

"The proposed rent is $31 per room per month."

I assume the average family would need four rooms. It adds up to $124 a month, a figure which makes it obvious that clearing this slum cannot possibly benefit any of the slum dwellers.

But the *Herald Tribune* seems to think it's kind of cheap. "No private developer," they say, "could do this without government assistance." They go on to show that, unfortunately, government and city funds are limited and we can't hope to clear all New York slum areas to put up similar developments. That's just as well. If New York City consisted entirely of $124-a-month projects, it would certainly be more exclusive and probably more attractive, but where would the workers live?

Considering the limited government funds available for housing. I don't understand why they should be used for the benefit of people who can afford to pay $31 a room. I'm forced to conclude that the Committee on Slum Clearance is not seriously interested in the problem of the kids who are sleeping in split shifts, of families crowded nine and ten in a room in the firetraps of Bedford-Stuyvesant and Harlem, of the children growing up in filthy, rat-infested cellars.

If private capital can't build without government assistance, even when it builds for well-heeled people who pay this kind of rent, it's about time these "developers" went out of business and let the government take over. And as a first step in a program for government housing, we should see to it that public funds are used to build projects for people who really need them.

Stellato Calls for 30-Hour Week in Auto To Fight Mounting Threat of Unemployment

By Emmett Moore

FLINT, MICH., July 23 — Keynote speaker at installation of new officers for Chevrolet 659 UAW-CIO was Carl Stellato, President of Ford Local 600, leading figure in the opposition to Walter Reuther and his policies.

In a hard-hitting speech that evoked repeated rounds of applause, Stellato spelled out the problems the union would face with the tapering off of war orders, slackening of auto production as the market fills and eventually becomes glutted with new cars, and increasing unemployment because of technological improvements.

He cited a Ford innovation where a single machine, three times as long as the Chevrolet union hall and twice as wide, run by 70 workers, has permanently displaced 800 workers. Stellato soberly warned his audience that automation in the industry is displacing thousands of workers.

"We haven't felt the effects of these technological improvements," he declared, "because displaced workers have been absorbed on defense jobs. Darn soon there isn't going to be a shortage of workers."

Stellato's solution is the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay. This was the primary plank of a 12-point platform adopted by 50,000 Ford workers at their tenth anniversary meeting in 1951.

"WILL HAVE TO CHANGE"

Stellato traced Reuther's opposition to the 30-hour week proposal at the last convention of the union. But he declared that Reuther would have to change his mind, just as he had to make adjustments on the pension plan, the five-year contract and the annual improvement factor. The Ford Local president put it simply: "Brother Reuther will have to change his position in the near future."

Stellato outlined his proposals to get the 30-hour week, contrasting them with Acting UAW President Emil Mazey's recent letter to the government on cancellation of the Kaiser aircraft contract which tossed 12,000 workers out of jobs. Mazey asked the government to do something for the Kaiser workers. Stellato contended that the union can't expect government or industry to hand labor the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay on a silver platter.

He insisted that the union has to fight for it just as it had to fight for union recognition, pensions and wage increases. The audience responded warmly when he declared, "I say we get together in one giant labor movement and do things the way we used to do them in the UAW."

Reminding the workers of the recent administratorship over the Ford Local by Walter Reuther, Stellato contended that the subsequent Ford elections constituted a repudiation of Reuther's dictation. He contended that the Ford workers showed by their vote that they did not believe he was a "communist." Stellato continued: "We must forget about calling each other names and 'communists' and work together to help the little guy in the shop.

Stellato deplored the fact that auto workers are dropping in the national wage standing of industries. He asserted that this is due to five-year contracts. An opponent of these long-term agreements, he criticized the recent contract adjustments as insufficient.

The 250 workers present at the meeting were also addressed by the new president of Dodge Local 3, Cheal. He scored Chrysler and GM domination of the government in Washington.

Other speakers were Robert Murphy, president of Chevrolet Local 659, Cliff Rock, president of Buick Local 599 and Joe Berry, financial secretary of Buick. Until recently, Murphy, Rock and Berry were considered to be adherents of Reuther.

DETROIT, July 23 — Carl Stellato's call for a 30-hour week at 40-hours pay in the auto industry is considered very timely among workers in this city who are alarmed over the rising danger of unemployment.

How real the danger is can be gathered from a brief rundown on the situation in the July 18 issue of **Ford Facts**, official paper of Ford Local 600:

"Packard may shut down idling 5,000. The Packard shutdown will cause 1,500 to be laid off at the Briggs-Connors plant. Hudson laid off 1,500. Willys has already idled 1,500. Dodge is scheduled to go down August 1. Budd Wheel is cutting back. The Tank Arsenal has laid off 900."

Stellato's criticisms of the program and policies of the International officials of the UAW has been well taken by workers who see nothing to gain from waiting for government and industry to solve the problems of the auto workers.

However, Stellato's failure to call once again for formation of Labor Party is considered a serious omission, particularly in view of the fact that Ford Local 600 is on record as favoring action in this direction.

Strikes Flare In Detroit Auto Plants

DETROIT — To stem the tide of wild-cat strikes here, the UAW International at its June Board meeting placed an administrator over Budd Local 306. This action came after a series of strikes hit Plymouth Local 51, Briggs Local 212, Dodge Local 3, Chrysler Local 7, GM Local 235, and other UAW Locals as well as the 8,000 Budd Local members.

Most of these strikes were declared "unauthorized" by the UAW International Union. At times more than 150,000 auto workers were affected for two or three days. The issues which brought on these strikes varied from speed-up, firing of union stewards or committee men, improper work assignment, hazardous work in improperly ventilated paint spray booths, etc.

These walkouts were in resistance to the general tightening up which the auto corporations are instituting. Invariably, small groups of workers were driven to shutting down their departments in defense of their working conditions. The plants were then shut down by management, even when these departmental operations did not immediately affect the general production.

Almost without fail, the International denounced the men for walking out. This emboldened the corporations to fire stewards and committee men in both the Budd and Briggs plants. In most cases the spirit of the strikes was then broken and the men returned to work. On some occasions, however, the companies were forced to make concessions to the men.

34 SHUT-DOWNS

In the Budd plants, this pattern was repeated no less than 34 times since the first of the year. Since the Detroit Budd plant is a principal supplier of body parts, DeSoto, Chrysler and Dodge were at times shut down for one or more days.

Almost immediately after the International Executive Board signed its supplement to the five-year agreement with the big three — General Motors, Ford and Chrysler — it acted to curb this wave of wild-cat strikes. Even though this agreement granted only one cent an hour additional to production workers, ten cents an hour to skilled workers and minor pension concessions in some plants, the UAW officialdom felt that these paltry concessions were sufficient to warrant them to act dramatically and drastically against these rank-and-file strikes, in compliance with the five-year agreements.

The International announced publicly that anyone penalized by the corporations could expect no help from the union officials. They stated that the bargaining procedure would be withheld from those union militants victimized by the corporations. **These statements, appearing boldly in the daily press, are reminiscent of the letter sent by Homer Martin to General Motors in 1939, granting GM similar firing rights.**

In the Budd plant in particular, the two strikes which have occurred since the administrator took over resulted in the firing of a chief steward and his alternate. When this same department went on strike a week later over a new grievance dispute, even the steward appointed by the administrator was fired. These three minor union officials were then rudely informed by the International officials that they had better look for work elsewhere.

COMPANIES EMBOLDENED

These drastic actions by the UAW officials seem for the moment to have curbed the recent strike wave. The corporations have only been emboldened by the refusal of the International to give militant leadership in the daily grievances which resulted in this series of strikes.

The auto workers as a whole were not involved in most of these grievances. Because of this, it was easier to isolate the workers involved and penalize them. There is no doubt that a section of the rank and file learned that guerrilla warfare is not sufficient these days. Because the five-year agreement remains in full force, the grievances of the auto workers must inevitably accumulate. At the next stage, minor amendments of this contract will not so easily suffice as grounds to curb union militancy.

While the rank and file are thus learning of the need for a broad program of action to defend their work conditions, they read in the daily press that their president, Walter Reuther, is receiving an honorary college degree at Wayne University on the same platform as the president of the largest non-union plant in Detroit — Burroughs Adding Machine. The honorary degree Reuther thus receives along with the anti-union corporation heads "for his labor statesmanship" seems of little aid to the membership of the UAW.

New Dust Bowl Threatened

The parched earth of a deserted farm near Pritchett, Colo., is dampened by a puddle of rainwater (c.) after a thunder storm, but the moisture soon boiled away. Scientists have warned for years that lack of foresight and proper methods in agriculture threaten to convert large areas of America into deserts. This could be averted under the planned economy of socialism.

N.Y. Straphangers Cut Down Rides

The week after New York's city-owned subways raised fares from 10 to 15 cents, there was a 9½% drop in passengers. However, city authorities expressed satisfaction over a 35½% increase in revenue. The Transit Authority also reported an alarming increases in fake tokens, children's play money and foreign coins.

Notes from the News

DETROIT COPS staged a witch-hunt raid on a garden party at the home of Arthur McPhaul, executive secretary of the Michigan Civil Rights Congress, July 25. Twenty-six people were arrested without warrants and booked on charges of "engaging in an illegal occupation" or "loitering."

* * *

U.S. RENT CONTROLS died July 31. Rent Stabilizer Glenwood J. Sherrard claimed, "This country's economy will be closer to so-called normal after the coming week than it has been since 1942." Milwaukee gives us a good example of the meaning of "normal." The Labor Department reports that since rent decontrol in Wisconsin in 1949 Milwaukee rents have soared 48%.

* * *

THE MINE MILL AND SMELTER Workers Union announced that 89.3% of the non-ferrous metal workers have voted to strike if necessary to win a general wage increase of 15 cents an hour plus fringe benefits. A union study showed that productivity per worker had increased 42% since 1939.

* * *

THE HEARNS DEPARTMENT STORE WORKERS have offered six alternative proposals in an effort to end the walkout in the NY store now in its third month. Hearn's anti-union president, Clement V. Conole, termed the proposals "an old Communist trick." The strike is being conducted by the Distributive, Processing and Office Workers CIO.

* * *

LOOKING A SUBVERSIVE GIFT HORSE IN THE MOUTH. The Los Angeles Board of Education turned down a $335,000 teacher-training grant from the Ford Foundation on the ground that it is a left-wing outfit.

* * *

MAJ. GEN. LEWIS B. HERSHEY sees no reason why the cease-fire in Korea should lighten the draft burden on the youth of the country. He predicted that draft quotas will probably be doubled within a year. "It is unfortunate," he said, "that we should get the young people to believing their plans for the future hinge on the truce. . . I would tell these young people Congress has placed a two-year obligation on them, and they are going to live up to it."

* * *

480,000 MEXICANS were arrested during the first six months of this year for "illegal" entry into the U.S. These workers were only part of those seeking employment as farm laborers in the southwest. Big farmers, using their illegal status as a club, hire Mexican laborers at rates far below the prevailing wage scale.

* * *

WILLIAN SCHNITZLER, AFL secretary-treasurer, warned the Rutgers University Labor Institute that an increased majority of reactionaries in Congress in 1956 would set off a "back to McKinley spree" from which the country would never recover. The union official said that his organization has entered politics from "sheer necessity" and not because it likes politics.

* * *

THE DUN AND BRADSTREET wholesale food index is now at its highest since October 1951.

* * *

JIM-CROW DEMOCRATIC STATE OFFICIALS have been called upon by Rep. James C. Davis (Dem. Ga.) to rebel against a U.S. Supreme Court decision hitting segregation in the schools. Will McCarthy attack this "conspiracy to advocate subversion" of the authority of the national government?

* * *

SO-CALLED "COMPULSORY UNIONISM" is forbidden by law in 12 states. The inherent danger in such laws is best shown by a Virginia case where the law was successful in stopping peaceful picketing on grounds that it kept non-union workers from coming to work.

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GREATEST UNEMPLOYMENT exists among discharged Korean war veterans, according to the latest Census Bureau report. The report showed that one out of every 14 Korean vets was looking for work.

* * *

MANUFACTURERS' PROFITS rose 9% in the first quarter of 1953 compared with the same quarter of 1952. It marked the second straight quarterly advance in earnings over the corresponding quarter of the previous year. The N. Y. **Times** reported that 585 manufacturing companies earned $1,531,258,205 during the first three months of this year.

* * *

PIANIST OSCAR LEVANT, under suspension from the AFL American Federation of Musicians since April 18, was welcomed back into the union June 9 by AFM President James C. Petrillo. To make sure Levant was properly impressed with his union responsibilities, Petrillo told the following story to reporters in Levant's presence: "There was Menuhin. He used to talk about his art and his God and his fiddle. Then one day when he was supposed to play in Philly, we told the musicians that he didn't hold a union card, and they walked out. So now him and his God and his fiddle, they're in the San Francisco local."

* * *

"THE BREWERY WORKER," newspaper of the CIO Brewery Workers International, commenting on proposals for public ownership of utilities said, "If this is creeping Socialism, it is something to be desired and encouraged."

* * *

THE ROCKEFELLERS gave $39,000 to two Congressional campaign committees last year, according to records of the clerk of the House of Representatives.

The Abyss in the Cities of Capitalism

By Hilda Smith

In the July 13 Militant we predicted that the current battle against the slums in Chicago would be frustrated if left to law-enforcement agencies, no matter how firm and well-intentioned the prodding of civic organizations.

There is solid ground for this prediction. Periodically, for more than 150 years, reformers, public-spirited people, have waged war on slums when they became such a blot on civilization they could not be ignored.

Throughout the 19th century, the vile living conditions of England's workers in the infamous East End of London were widely indicted. Professor Huxley, who as a medical officer knew the East End the way on anthropologist knows primitive tribes, wrote, **"Were the alternative presented to me I would deliberately prefer the life of the savage to that of those people of Christian London."**

Famous writers such as Thomas Carlyle and Oscar Wilde used their great talents to spur reform. The prominent poets — Sidney Lanier, Goldsmith, Swinburne, Tennyson, pictured the misery of England's workers in bitter, burning verses that seared those with a civic conscience.

Laws were passed to salve that conscience. Municipal and charity work houses were established for the homeless. But their methods of administration were so brutal the workers hated them.

In 1902, the American writer, Jack London, spent the summer in London's East End. He reported what he saw in his book, **The People of the Abyss.**

1902 was the year of the coronation of King Edward VII — the apex of England's Golden Age. Tribute from the rest of the world, rivers of riches, flowed into the hands of England's ruling class. The coronation was a magnificent, gigantic display of that enormous wealth and power. In Jack London's words, ". . . so was it along the whole line of march — force, overpowering force; myriads of men, splendid men, the pick of the people, whose sole function in life is blindly to obey, and blindly to kill and destroy and stamp out life. And that they should be well fed, well clothed, and well armed, and have ships to hurl them to the ends of the earth, the East End of London and the 'East End' of all England, toils and rots and dies."

Behind this panoply of wealth and power was the utter human degradation of the East End slums described by Jack London in words such as these: "The miserable and despised and forgotten, dying in the social shambles! The prostitution of men and women and children, of flesh and blood and sparkle and spirit; in brief the prostitution of labor. . . In London the slaughter of the innocent goes on on a scale more stupendous than any before in the history of the world."

LABOR PARTY ACTED

Real alleviation began only after organized labor built the Labor Party, which took measures to help its own. They made progress, though hampered by property-protecting laws and cunning devices of profiteers to circumvent reform measures. What Labor governments accomplished was often undone by subsequent Tory governments. But the English workers have had a taste of what Labor in power can do. When they win it again — and they are on their way — no doubt nationalization of the building industry will begin to solve the slum problem as it should be solved.

The year 1902 was also the heyday of U.S. capitalism. Then the capitalist buccaneers, described in such books as **The Robber Barons** and **America's 60 Families,** were building the money empires that still rule this country. Golden tribute from a growing country was ruthlessly appropriated; New York was the capital of that empire of gold, its might flaunted there in lavish living.

WORST IN THE WORLD

In 1902 the New York slums were the worst in the world. The great reformer, Jacob A. Riis, proved that in his books, **How the Other Half Lives** and **The Battle of the Slums.** Riis, as an immigrant boy, lived in those slums. The horror he experienced there filled him with undying hatred. His 25 years as a police reporter on the slum beats reinforced his ambition to cleanse the city of these "dens of death" and "infant slaughterhouses," where "the money paid to the owners as rent is literally the price of blood."

Riis spear-headed a reform movement he never let rest. He gives us an account of the 50-year battle, beginning in 1857 when those "dens of death" were exposed by a Legislative Committee. But then "The wise men had their day and they decided to let bad enough alone; that it was unsafe to interfere with 'causes that operate sociologically.'" The slum landlords were making 40% profit, which "is a powerful damper on sense and conscience, even with cholera at the door."

SLUM DISEASES

It took cholera and smallpox epidemics, originating in the slums and threatening the well housed, to arouse civic conscience. New York got the truth for once; and in 1879 the Citizens Council of Hygiene was formed. It had taken 24 years to win that first small victory, so many and powerful were the profit interests opposing it.

Some of the worse slums were Astor leasehold property. Trinity Church, the wealthiest church corporation in the land and a slum landlord, fought the reform threat to its source of wealth. Tammany, in those days a young savage Tiger, bold and brazen in its contempt for reform, ruthlessly defended the money interests. Its claws are still sharp today, but its methods more subtle.

The slums were so shameful and threatening that civic conscience was shocked into action; the reformers got backing; some of the worst tenements were wiped out under reform administrations. Better housing, schools and playgrounds were built for the workers. It had to be done a step at a time with many set-backs. With the slogan, "Keep the tax rates down," Tammany would stage a comeback and undo much that had been done.

After 50 years of unremitting struggle, Riis admitted, **"The truth of the matter is that the job is too big for the law alone."** He counted on organized labor. The union label of the garment workers was instrumental in wiping out the worst sweat shops in the slums. He wrote, "When the Union label deserves public confidence as a guarantee against such things, it will receive it. On that day the label will be mightier than any law."

The limited victories led Riis in 1902 to believe that reform methods could whip the problem — perhaps within ten years. He believed that Chicago need never have such a battle, "Because Chicago has Jane Addams."

Now a half century since 1902, take a look at the New York slums. Take a look at Harlem where the "dens of death" and "infant slaughterhouses" are still going strong. New York has done more than most cities about housing reform. But reform could not keep up with the spread of the slums. Demolished in one area, they spring up in others, fed by the need, ever-increasing, for low-rent worker dwellings. That need finds always profit-hungry exploiters.

Organized labor has never fulfilled the expectations of Jacob Riis. On paper, it has the correct program — large-scale public housing. Until it is implemented with organized action, it will remain largely on paper. Meanwhile the slums are doing their vile job on another generation of workers' children. **The union label will be "mightier than any law" only if the unions organize the slum dwellers to fight for relief.**